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KINGSTON ONTARIO CANADA



THE

GRAND SECRET

Of Precipitating the

PRELIMINARIES

Brought to Light;

OR, A

VIEW of the MOTIVES

That Induced the

Courts of L——n and the Hague to Overlook the visible Advantages of continuing the WAR:

WITH

OBSERVATIONS on the probable Instability of the Ensuing Peace, on the Refined Politics of France, in restoring her Conquests, and on the Nature and Value of the particular Donceur accruing to Hanover by the Pacification.

In a LETTER from Amsterdam.

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Amsterdam, May ?, 1748.

SIR,



EFORE this can reach you, I doubt not but you will have heard that Preliminaries for a general Pacification, as they are call'd, were hatch'd at Aix la

Chapelle, the last Day of the last Month. The Pangs of the negotiating Mountain are at last ceased, but whether your State Midwives will hastily produce the Off-spring to the View of their Countrymen, is a Matter to be doubted: For I cannot persuade myself that your Ministry, any more than ours, do flatter themselves to have any Cause for exulting on the Occasion.

casion. I don't think they will precipitate the Publication of this Chef d'Oovure with as great gaité de Coeur as they did the Persection of the Measure itself; therefore think myself obliged in Friendship, to exhibit this political Abortion to your View just in the Plight it was sent me from the Fountain-head, by one as incapable of misleading, as he is himself least liable of any Man living of being misled.

I don't know in what Light your Nation will take this hasty Step towards a general Peace; but if the present English be not better broke to the Yoke than their Ancestors, and less jealous and discerning than when last France obliged their Court, as she does at present, with a set of Preliminaries, I don't conceive that your People will exult any more than your Ministry, or than we Dutchmen, who love Peace in our Hearts for the sake of our Trade, but who would as unwillingly purchase it too dearly as buy Gold above its intrinsic Value.

As the Enemy was at our Door, or rather within it, we may be supposed to have sought Peace with the utmost Eagerness

gerness; but no mathematical Problem is more certain, than that the confiderate among us dreaded nothing so much as Peace, because they perceived that the present Men in Power had courted it more arduously then was confistent with either the Dignity or Safety of the Republic, or with that general Freedom, which, 'till of late, had been the constant Object of the Attention of Englishmen and Hollanders.

You know not perhaps, that we Dutchmen can fall as naturally into Airs of Grandeur and Sovereignty as those born in Monarchies. But I can affure you, that any one of us can pronounce, my Army, my People, and my Subjects, with as great Facility and Air as any Frenchman or Muscovite in Europe. And what is no less true, the Faskion of asfurning this Air of Sovereignty grew up, and spread in proportion to the Successes of the Arms of France. The first of this courtly Fashion appeared at the Hague as foon as Bergen-op-Zoom was taken, and increasing ever fince, the late investing Maestricht, it became conspicuous to the View of the lowest of our People, at the Setting out of the S-dh-r

S—dh—r to command the Army, which 'till then was thought to be that of the Republic.

'Tis well known that we are obliged to France for our new General and Admiral; but 'tis a doubt with me, whether it be as univerfally known, that Peace was thought necessary as for the Conversation of this high State-officer in his new Dignities, as war had been for his Elevation. Yet little as this Truth has spread, careful as our Statesmen are to conceal it, it begins not only to take Wind, but to be known that this fingle Circumstance, more than any other Consideration, has occasioned, that late Precipitancy of Conduct, of which your Nation and ours, and our natural Ally, have so great Reafon to complain.

A Court has sprung up here of late among us, who held not this Emblem of Royalty in any very great Veneration. But a Court we have; nor need it be told you, who are no Stranger to the Drift of court Sycophants, that Courts have often Objects in view, that are less replete with the public than private Safety and Welfare. This is a Truth which most Nations

tions have experienced to their Cost, and of which, I fear, we *Dutchmen* shall have more early Experience, than was intended by the first Institution of our government.

The old Ministry here had necessarily laid the Root of their Influence too deeply to be wholly eradicated on the late Men, whose Fathers, as Revolution. well as themselves, had borne the chiefest Sway amongst us, must naturally have acquired an extended Friendship, and a Reputation, of which great Me 1 know how to avail themselves on Occafion. The Conquests of France, after the Elevation of the S—b—r, furnished these men, and their Friends with a specious Pretext of crying down the late mobbish, undigested Step taken, or rather forced upon the Provinces. was it difficult to pursuade a volatile Populace, frighted by the Approach of the Enemy, that they had not been gainers by the late Change, and that they might as well have trusted to the Guidance of their old Conducters as the New, who had not, till then, appeared to be better Patriots or more enlightened.

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The Truth is, our people, fince the taking of their maiden Bulwark, were inclined rather to repent than exult. The loss of Bergen-op-Zoom seemed to have opened their Views, and wore away the Edge of their Prejudice to their old Governors. They now began to cool, and see Men, and Things by the Lights of Reason and Experience; and this unprejudiced Reslection turned not so much to the Advantage of the New as Old Ministry.

The new Men were either too dimfighted to fee this early Change in the People, or too giddy with the Power they wrested from their Predecessors, to fet a just Value on the Prejudices of those that had contributed to their Influence. They might think it, perhaps, derogatory their own Glory, and that, and the Dignity of their Chief, to court the Applause, or consult the Passions of the Populace, apprehending it might be a tacit Reflection on the Means by which the late Change had been wrought. There is nothing which Man cares less to own than the Obligation of an ill-gotten Power; nor any thing he is more jealous of than its Preservation. that that all Power must be deemed ill-gotten which is not acquired constitutionally, is uncontrovertible. Nor is it less certain that our new Men were thrust upon the Republic in Opposition to its most stated and cherished Maxims and Resolutions.

'Tis true, that in the great Exigencies of the Commonwealth, as antiently in Rome, we had recourse to a Superintendant of the military Affairs of our Repub-We chose a S—b—r in 1672, and the Choice happily answered our Expectations; for the Person chosen was endowed with all the Qualifications requisite for extricating an oppress'd People out of their Difficulties. But, my Friend, your William III. and our late S - b - r is no more; and there remains none of his immediate Line to inherit his Fortune, his Wisdom, or his Virtues. Great as he was become by the additional Power of the British Crown, accustomed as he had been to the regal Stile, in your Island, he was too wife to use it on this Side of the Water. Here he was but a Subject, tho' with you he was a Sovereign. And he was fo fenfible of his Condition, that during his whole Life he never once attempted tempted to arrogate publickly any preeminence that shewed an Inclination to Sovereignty. Such Words, as my People, my Army, or my Subjects, never escaped his cautious Lips; not but that the Army, and even the People, were as much at his Devotion, as if he had been invested with the Sovereignty of the State. But he prudently took care that the great Influence he had acquired should always appear constitutional. Like other great Magistrates he awed and intimidated fome, and corrupted others to his Purposes, in consequence of the Power he was invested with; but never attempted to stretch his Power beyond the Limits perscribed by the Constitution.

You may judge of our late S—h—r's Conduct by that of the Princes succeeding his immediate Successor Queen Anne. The Stuarts, like some on this Side of the Water that shall be nameless, was ever laying hold of Opportunities to exercise and extend the Prerogatives of the Crown; but your present royal Family take quite another and wifer Method. They sagaciously drop the Prerogative, I mean all Stretches of it, for the more solid and less inflaming Influence arising from Harmony

mony and good Correspondence with the Keepers of the national Purse. I need not tell you, who had so narrowly scrutinized into the Walpolean Administration, and so loudly inveigh'd against the immense Waste of it in the Article of Secret Service; you need not, I say, be informed by a Dutchman, how, and by what Means, this constant harmonious Intelligence subsists between the P——e and P——t.

But here with us, of late, the Politics of our Court was of a different Complexion. Our new Men, feeing they had risen to Power by War, imagin'd the best Support of their Influence would be the Continuance of the Means by which it had been acquired. Besides, War was ever thought to be the Harvest-season of Soldiers and Courtiers; and, among us, even of the S-b-r himself. The Civil Power being always eclipfed by the Military in Times of Confusion, it will be ever found, that those who are intoxicated with the Glare of Rule and Command, will not be the most forward to promote a Ceffation of the Dangers or Convulsions of the State. And so it fell out in these Provinces, from the Eleva-

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tion of a S—à—r to the investing of Maziricki.

The pacific Offers of France were constantly rejected; nor did the shameful Los of a Bulwark, thought impregnable, blunt the Edge of our Court-preindice to Peace. And I must sav, that the big Promises from your Side of the Water, contributed not a little to confirm our new Statesmen in their obstinacy. All the Continent was to be ranfack'd for Troops, all the Seas were to be covered with Ships of War, and all the Purses of the Republic were to be emptied, in order to be revenged of France. This was the Pretence; but the true Reason for constantly throwing cold Water on the moderate Offers of the Enemy, was the Protraction of the War for the Enla: gement of the Power of our Jupiter and his Satelites.

For had the Safety or Glory of the State been confidered, Peace would have been accepted on the profer'd Conditions, or early Care would have been taken to be firong enough in the Field to turn the Current of the Success of the War against the Enemy. This later was practicable,

ticable, or it was not. If practicable, why was not the glorious Scheme carried into Execution? and if not practicable, why were not the Offers of Peace embraced?

But the Truth feems to be, that Peace, of any Kind, would not answer the Purposes of our new Court, and a vigorous War might reduce the Enemy, already weigh'd down with the War, tho' successful on Land, to the Necessity of offering what Terms of Peace one would, such as our new Masters could not colourably reject.

If it had been intended to profecute the War with Vigour, the Russian Troops, in your Pay and ours, would, and might have winter'd in Germany, and be early enough upon the Maese to prevent the besieging Maestricht. Nay, an Augmentation of Troops might have been obtain'd of the Northern Empress, which additional Corps might be easily and speedily brought by Sea, in April, as soon as the Navigation of the Baltic is open. In short, if a vigorous War had been thought for the immediate Interest of our new Men, more vigorous and earlier

carlier Measures would have been taken. And fince they were not, 'tis evident to a Demonstration, either, that our Statesmen are unequal to the Stations they fill, or that they would hold the Power they had grasp'd against the Grain of the best, wisest, and wealthiest of the People, at the Risque of endangering the very Being of the Republic. Let them chuse which Cap they will wear.

The Selfishness of our new Men appear'd at the very Dawn of their Power. instead of bending their Thoughts to avert the Storm from Abroad, they were employ'd chiefly in raifing it at Home, and widening the Bottom of their Influence, by displacing the old Ministry and their Friends, rendering them obnoxious, and exposing them to the Fury of the Populace. Thus came the War to be neglected on this Side of the Water; and how the Statesmen on that Side came to concur in the NegleEt shall be confidered prefently, tho' the Discussion feems more peculiarly the Province of an Englishman.

If Dutchmen be confided as guided by Men whom a Populace had forced into Pewer.

Power, Men, driven uppermost by the Consussions of the Times, Men resolved to hold what they had seized; Men, in short, incapable of conducting War, and therefore wanting a Peace to preserve their Power: If I say, you consider Hollanders in that true Light in which they ought to be viewed, and in which I have endeavour'd to produce them for the better elucidating my Subject, you will be the less surprised at the Precipitancy of the present Measure, or the Facility with which your Statesmen have been able to lure our governing Men into their Scheme of a Peace on such Terms as could be obtain'd of the Enemy.

Need you, whose Family was conspicuous in the Opposition to the Forgers of the late general Peace, be told that the governing Men in a State are not always the wisest and most virtuous of the Community. Or, need you be told that Ministers, and even Princes, like other Men, have their Weakness, and their Passions, and above all others have no less the Maintenance of their Power in view, than likewise the Accumulation of Riches, and the Addition of new Honours and Dignities.

nities. Or need I further explain to you the Motives that might have urged our *Statefinen* to be more tractable at present, than your Court found them pending the Treaty of *Utrecht*.

In those happier Days, we had no Court; our Statesmen depended on the good Will of the People, and could have no Interest separate from theirs. In these, we have a new Set of Men instantaneously sprung up among us, who confider themselves more immediately dependant on an Individual than the Republic. Such Men, we may suppose, will confult the particular Interest of that Individual, an Interest they always look upon as blended with their own: Men, I say, thus dependent on a particular Family in the State, will be apt to examine only that Side of the Question which tends to the Promotion of the particular Interest in View.

While War answered the Purpose of this particular *Interest*, they were deaf to all *Overtures* of Peace. But finding the People, even those who had raised them, murmur at their Conduct, and as ready to pull them down as they had too hasfilly

ftily push'd them up, it was judged necessary to prevent by Times another Revolution, which might prove as inauspicious to the new Ministry as the late had been to the old. Not that the People wanted or wish'd for Peace, while there was such a Prospect of humbling France by the Continuance of the War; but, because they sound the Error of thrusting those into Employments who were unequal to the Burden, and less attached to the public than private Interest.

Your Court oblig'd us into the Peace of Utrecht, and the Compulsion was general: It reach'd our Governors as well as our People. But at present the Scene is alter'd. You give us a Peace, and have the Concurrence of our governing Men, but not of the People, who see a Prospect of commanding Peace and humbling the prefidious Enemy, by continuing the War. Perhaps the Cafe may be fimilar with you; your People, like ours, perceive somewhat too mysterious in the Conduct of your Statesmen, and may think the late Stride to Peace too hasty and precipitate. — But your governing Men, as well as ours, may fee D Things.

Things in a quite different Light from the rest of the Community, and may have their particular Motives and Reafons for the Singularity of their Opinions. For, I don't know how it comes, a Man seems to be new created when he commences Minister. These Servants of the Public seem a species quite different from other Men, or indeed, from themselves; I mean themselves, in their state of Existence and Innocence.

— Let us examine the probable Motives of their late Condust.

I have stated the Case to you as it stood on this Side of the Water. S - - b - r and his Creatures, faw a Storm gathering that threatn'd their Destruction. They saw, at last, such a Change in the People as foreboded no Good to the new Men and their late created Power. And they must be infatuated not apprehend the bursting of the gathering Clouds, should France push her Conquests nearer the Vitals of the Republic. The People, that is, the confiderate Part of them, were under no fuch Dread for the Approach of the Enemy; well knowing the French must take Breath after the Reduction of Mae-Aricht.

firicht, should they besiege it earlier than the Allies could form an Army of Opposition. In such Case, we know the Russians would be up with with us, and all the Strength of the Empress-Queen; an accummulated Strength, which, considering the Difficulties of approaching this Province, would be more than sufficient to baffle the Enemy, and perhaps oblige him to retire.

Any Rub in the Way of France would answer the Purpose of the Allies. She was undone could her Carrier be stopt for a single Campaign: And there is not a Man of Sense in these Provinces that would not risque the withstanding her Essorts for the rest of the present. But such a wise and manly Steadiness would not answer the Purpose of our new Men, nor perhaps of your Court.

Let me suppose, and surely so reasonable a Supposition may be granted me, that Count de Saxe should be obliged to sit down contented with the Conquest of Maestricht, and the lesser Fortresses on the Maese before the Junction of the Russians and other Troops of the Allies. I believe it won't be dis-

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puted with me, that he would not venture to push farther, or if he did, that he might well be check'd in such a Country as he must be obliged to pass through, and by an Army equal to his own, which it must be after his Losses before Maestricht, Ruremonde, and Venlo; or, if you will, Bois le Duc, and even Breda. As for any Attempts the French should make upon Zealand, and particularly the Isle of Walcharen, they neither would nor ought give a reasonable Hollander the least Concern.

Now, let us see how it would stand with France should she fail of forcing herfelf into this Province, as she certainly would for this Summer at least. With the united Naval Force of England, and this Republic, her Trade might be fo ruined as even on a Peace, the should not be able to retrieve it in twenty Years, probably never. For, if her Sugar Colonies were once destroyed, and her Canada taken from her, I don't see a Chance for the Recovery of her Commerce. And we may observe, by the Successes of the New Englandmen and Admiral Warren at Cape-Breton, and of Admiral Knowles, lately at St. Domingo, höw

how easily the French might be stript of all their Colonies in America.

In the East-Indies, there is scarce a Doubt that Admiral Townshend will have reduced all their Colonies, or Pondicherry the Chief of them. Their Turkey Trade is already pretty nigh stagnated, and might be wholly stopt so as to establish the Use of English and Dutch Commodities in that Part of Asia, in such a Manner that the French would find it extremely difficult hereafter to recover any great Share of that Trade.

By England's opening a Trade with Spain, which last sent Home to your Doors to sue for a separate Peace, the French Trade to that Monarchy must dwindle to nothing, especially as scarce a Ship with French Colours could escape your Crusters and ours. And for the Baltic Trade, France could have no Chance of carrying it on while you and we rid Triumphant over all the Ocean.

Thus, you may fee, how France might be distress'd, how she ought to be dealt with; and how soon she might be reduc'd to the Necessity of agreeing

to such a Peace as might bid fair to last not only during your Days and mine, but those of the youngest of our People. We shall consider in the Sequel, how unlikely it is, that any Peace built on our late precipitated *Preliminaries* can be of this durable Consistency.

But, besides this obvious Destruction of the Trade of the Enemy which was in our Power by the Continuance of the War, there was a moral Certainty that fuch a Tumour was gathering in the Bowels of France, as might, if artfully nurs'd up, endanger her very Existence, I mean in her present State of absolute and abject Subjection to the Will of an Individual. It is well known that the Murmurs of the French were general and loud. They are of late become Free-Thinkers in religious Matters, as you in England or we in Holland; and if well managed, and touch'd properly by your and our Statesmen, might be soon brought to wish to be eased as well of the Papal as Regal Yoke. I could fay much more of this Topic. I could fay what I know to be a Truth as clear as Day, that fuch ill Blood was gathering in France as made the French Courtiers tiers shudder and tremble for the Confequences.

What do you think induced France to make you and us fo frequent, and feemingly refign'd offers of Peace? Do you think the French Court is become less designing, less ambitious than heretofore? Not at all. But all the Cabinet of Verfailles perceived a Grangreen in the Body Politic; faw Spain ready to proftrate herself before you fince the Death of Philip V. knew it to be in your Power to stript France of, or ruin all her Colonies; perceived you of late taking the right Steps to dam up all the Channels of her Trade, and consequently of her Riches; saw us Dutch rouz'd and ready to corporate with you in the Destruction of her Commerce, were apprehensive the Circles of the Empire might be wrought upon against the next Campaign, to join their Head in putting a Stop to her unjust, injurious Treatment of the House of Austria, and this Republic; faw his Prussian Majesty wavering, and not exempt from Jealousy of the ambitious Views of the French Court. In short, Sir, France had her Reafons, cogent Reafons for appearing appearing so passive and tractable as your Court and ours are of late willing to believe her to be. She was on the very Verge of Ruin, which, in in all human Probability nothing could prevent but this hasty, felfish Measure of your Statesmen and ours.

I have informed you with the State of Affairs here, and how necessary it was for our new Men that the Sword, by which they rose from the Level, should be turn'd into a Plough-share. Our new Sages were frighted out of their Wits at the Approach of the French, and call to you as loudly as they could, to fave them by a Peace of any Complexion, for that certainly the War would foon reduce them to their Non-entity. For this Purpose was Mynheer B — k's last Voyage to London. He implored, in the Name of his M—r, and of his M—fs too, whose Petitions were moisten'd with It was represented, that as you begun the War, and particularly brought it home to Holland, in order to raise a Sen-in-Law to the Power he enjoys at present, it would be impoliție, as well as unkind and unnatural, not to support him in the Possession of that Power. That

That your Court may always rely that that Power should be employ'd in the particular Service of the royal Family; but that the Continuance of the War would probably occasion a second Revolution in the Provinces, which would certainly unhinge all that had been done in the last Confusion, in savour of the House of Freezland.

All was faid, every thing was urged that could move you on that Side of the Water, and warn you from your Attachment to the Courts of Vienna and Turin, and particularly to the latter. It was foreseen that France must procure a Settlement for her Son-in-Law, and was obliged, in Honour as well as Interest, to re-instate the Genoese in the Territories wrested from them by the King of Sardinia. Our new Men, therefore, saw that no Peace could be obtain'd without your giving up those Points to France and Spain, which last you might have severed from the former, any Hour last Winter, if you had agreed to less for Don Philip than is now stipulated for him by the Preliminaries. And, really, Sir, of all the Slips of your Cabinet, fince the Death of the Emperor Charles VI. your Neglect E

of Spain, in this Instance, is the least pardonable.

The Death of Philip open'd fuch a Door to your entering into the Views of the new Court of Spain, as must sensibly have affected France, and greatly promoted your own commercial Interest, if your Statesmen had not been most shamefully wanting in their Duty to their Country. Ferdinand and his Ministers are truly Spaniards, and as such attach'd folely to the true Interest of Spain; an Interest which was, and will always be, compatible with that of England. You had nothing more to do but to indulge Spain with a very moderate Provision for her Infant, which the new King might think himfelf obliged in honour to procure for him, and fettle the Affair of Trade on the footing of old Treaties. This, I dare fay, would bring that Crown to grow cool upon France, and think her Interest better blended with the maritime Powers.

But supposing Spain went farther, and expected to sell her Friendship to you at a higher Price; that is, suppose she insisted on the Restitution of Gibraltar:

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Would that Fortress, become more burdensom than useful to England, be an Equivalent for the Friendship and Trade of that rich, indolent, lazy Nation? Might not your Ministers have procured some lucrative, commercial Advantage from Spain, in exchange for a Place of small Utility in War time, and of none in times of Peace?

For my own Part, I have often wondered at the Tenaciousness of your Nation, in regard to Gibraltar. What Charms are there in the Place that should so unmeaningly have intoxicated a whole trading People? The Town produces nothing, contributes to no Trade that may not be carried on if there had been no such Bay or Fortress in the World; and, besides, creates an Expence which, let me say, England, opulent as she may be thought, is ill able to bear.

'Tts evident, that if you had not had Gibraltar, you would not have had the late or present War with Spain; nor is it less manifest, that while you retain that Place, you never can stand thoroughly fair with the Spaniards. But don't you observe, on the Face of those very Preliminaries.

· liminaries, those Suger-plums, which France knows fo well how to dispose of on occasion, that she would obstruct a right good Understanding 'twixt England and Spain? As well as the was adroit enough to perfuade you into Concessions, in favour of Don Philip and the Republic of Genea, against the Opinion and Grain of your principal M-r, who had, for some time past, taken the King of Sardinia under his aweful Protection; I say, and insist upon it, that as France was able to dictate on these Occasions, fhe might lure or threaten you to part with Gibraltar, if she had not thought it her Interest, that that Bone of Contention should remain to be gnaw'd alternately by both Nations.

See how far France extends her Scheme, how subtilly she spreads her Net, to take in your unfledg'd Statesmen, with regard to her Views of keeping England and Spain on bad Terms. This refined insidious Stroke of French Politics, will appear to you on casting your Eye on the Ninth Article of the Preliminaries, by which France not only admits of a pecuniary Claim to the Crown of Spain, by your Prince, as Elector of Hanover,

Hanover, but engages to use her good Offices to obtain Satisfaction of his Catholic Majesty for the same. I own I was amazed to see such an Article lugg'd into such a Basis as these Preliminaries for a general Peace, imagining that so trivial a Matter might better be discuss'd, and settled more privately and separately; but on reslection I began to be better reconciled to the Step, on the Part of the British Plenipotentiaries, and impute it to the Resinements of the French Cabinet.

France might imagine to have perceived, on many Occasions, that your M - s generally acted so as to consider and consult certain Prejudices, more than the true Interest of their Country. might likewise think to perceive a Desire that the E-e should rank with other more powerful States, and be confidered as a principal contracting State in general Treaties. Vanity is blended with human Nature, and the truly Great and Exalted are the least tinctured with it. But be that as it may, France inclined rather to expole than oblige, finding there was no bending your Court without the Weight of this important Claim should be granted to her, agreed to it in such a manner

a manner, as must cause the Derision of some, and the Dislike of others; and above all, was pleased with an Opportunity of widening the Misintelligence between Spain and Great Britain.

'Tis pity this obsolete Claim was not fet up by Hanover, at the time of the late Convention between the two Crowns. But I forget that the regal and electoral Interests are distinct and separate, in Money Matters especially. But what may you suppose the Value and Nature of this high Demand to be? 'Tis a Claim as old as Philip IV. of Spain, arising from a Sublidy and Pay of a Body of Troops, hired to that Prince by the Duke of Hanover. And to confider the Scantiness of the Duke's Power and Dominions in those Days, you may be sure the Corps of Troops hired must have been very finall, and the Subfidy and Pay very Yet by the Intrigues of France, or the Blunder or Adulation of your M-y, this poor, infignificant obfolete Demand is made an Article in a Preliminary for settling the Peace of Europe, The Demand is faid to amount to a hundred and twenty thousand Pistoles, or about 100,000 l. Sterling; no trifling Sum you may

may be sure, in those early Days, or at any time in Germany. But I dare answer for the Gentleman at the Head of your T—y, that he could, and would have found a thousand Ways of gleaning, imperceptibly, such a Sum in the Harvest of a Session, rather than the Claim should stand where it does. But we are to suppose that France designs that not only the Principle, but accumulative Interest shall be demanded. And in such case the Claim will be of so great Importance, as will effectually answer the Views of that dangerous Court.

I am furprised your Sages had not perceived the Drift of France, in these Stretches of her Policy. She encourages and admits a Claim by Hanover on Spain, that ought to have been buried with the contracting Parties, and would remain with their Ashes probably, if your M—rs were not more intent to make court to—than—&c. or, if France had not a View to keeping the Sore open between your Crown and the Spanish.—But to return to the Subject of Mynheer B—k's late Errant to your Court.

That Favourite and Confident of the S - b - r, was the fittest Person that could be fent to quicken the Pace of your Court to pacifick Measures. He was in all the deep Secrets of this Cabinet, and was well related on your Side of the If he be not a bright Genius, he does not want Sense, and is remarkable for keeping a Secret; no trifling Qualification in a Courtier and Favourite. In thort, he succeeded, but without derogating from his Merit as a Negociator; I must add, that he owed his Success more to Fortune or Chance, than to Regard for the S—-b—r or his C—t, to any Attachment to the Interests of England, or to his own personal Weight or Oratory.

About the time of his coming to your Court, there happened a Chain of concuring Incidents, which not a little contributed to promote the Measure he went thither to solicit. It was about this time that Lord C——d resigned; and 'tis thought for not being able to persuade his Colleagues into pacific Measures. But whether that be the true Cause of that great Man's Disgust, or that he had Slights put upon him by an Inferior in Knowledge

Knowledge and Understanding, and an Equal only in Office, are Mysteries more within your Province to develope than mine.

However that be, it is certain that the retiring of that Nobleman from the Cabinet, funk the Hearts of our new Men a full Flemish Ell: And we are grofly imposed on from your Island, if his Resignation had not occasion'd a Tremor in the Individual, who is supposed to have occasion'd the Resignation. All the frightful Images of an Opposition are said to have appear'd to him at the Instant he heard that the Seals were return'd. I won't say that a Perturbation of this kind is an Argument of Guilt, but neither can it be deem'd an Indication of Innocence or Courage.

Another Incident favourable to Mynbeer B—k's Negociation, was the Damp on public Credit, which happen'd at this Juncture, more from the Imperfection of the Scheme for raising the Supplies, than Distidence or Desiciency of Specie to circulate the Paper Credit. 'Tis but the truly wise and great of Soul, who are ever incapable of Guilt, and seldom labie ble to Error, that can fee big and dangerous approaching Difficulties, with steadiness and unconcern. But little Genius's, particularly when conscious of an Unfitness and Unfaithfulness in the Discharge of public Duties, shrink at the View of the most distant Danger, which, to avoid, they frequently increase, by the very Means they take for warding off the seemingly impending Blow.

Lord C—d's Colleagues in the Administration were not, by Nature, fitted for the Conduct of a War, nor, by Inclination, Friends to its continuance. But knowing, by Experience, that their Power rested solely on the Basis of Resignation, they fell in with the Prejudices in favour of the War, resolved, however, to lay hold of the first fair Opportunity for removing such Prejudices by Argument, or by producing a Portrait of approaching Danger. With the Intelligent, Prejudice of any kind never bears fway; and it is more furely removed by alarming the Fear, than informing the Understanding of the Posses'd.

The Hour was now, come for executing this last Part of the ministerial Plan. 'Twas

'Twas suggested that all was at stake on this side of the Sea; that if the War continued, the new Men here, and their Chief, would inevitably be unsaddled; that public Credit begun to slacken to such a degree, as endanger'd the very Frame of the Government: That no Money was to be raised among us Dutchmen, who begun to shut our Purses, the better to distress our new Masters; and that the young royal Leader's ill State of Health, would not permit him to execute the Trust reposed in him, or bear the Fatigues of the Campaign.

Every Reason was urged but the true one, which was the Resignation that portended an Opposition, which could not so well be stem'd in Times of Expence, as when the public Occasions might better permit the applying the public Money to the particular Purposes of a Ministry.

These are the authentic Accounts we have received here of the late Measures of your Cabinet; and thus you see how the particular Interests of private Men, both there and here, had operated towards precipitating the Work of Peace. The Continuance of the War was mani-

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feftly for the Interest of the Allies, and would naturally promote the common Cause. But *Peace* became the immediate Interest of our *new Court*, and of your governing M—rs: And when the Competition lies between the public and private *Interests*, the latter, we may be sure, will ever prevail, in proportion to the Growth of national Vice and Corruption.

'Tis not thought here, that the Prejudice I have mention'd, and which your M --- rs found themselves under the Necessity of consulting and managing, was owing fo much to an Attach for the Cause of general Liberty, as a Propenfity to Arms, Encampments, and other Comcomitants of War. Perhaps there may have been likewise a View to the Aggrandizement of a certain patrimonial Dominion, which if it should fail of an Addition of Territory, could not of additional Riches, by the Pay of its native Troops. And I suppose it may be partly to compensate for a Loss, thus necessarily arising from Peace, that the Stale Claim to Spain, before mentioned, had been conjur'd up, as an Expedient to soften the Loss to be sustained by the Discontinuance of the War.

What

. What Pity, my worthy Friend, that Servants of the Public should forget their Obligations to the Community. 'Tis a continual War-fare, in modern Times, between the People and their Stewards. Nor have we much less Reason for guarding against Domestic than Foreign Invaders of our natural Rights and Liberties. If the French have invaded our Possessions, our new Men at Honie have been busy with our Liberties. The Invasion of the former was but to oblige us to a Neutrality, which it was our Interest to have agreed to when first required; but that of the latter was to force us to a Surrender of all that is dear in Life. These last have succeeded for themselves, and for the French too. They have not only cloathed themselves with our Liberties, but obliged us to truckle to the Enemy at a Time that he lay almost panting for Breath.

Never was the Condition of France less promising, never her Affairs more perplex'd than when your Court and ours snapt at the Bait, and swallowed the Hook thrown out to them by the Gallic Fex, who, according to an ingenious

genious Author of yours, whose humorous and poignant Performance has been lately turn'd into our Language: I My, according to the Congress of THE BEASTS, France ends this War with a View of beginning another (a). " But " fhould not I succeed so as to dictate " all around me, and be able to keep " my Conquests, I shall end this War 66 foon, that I may the fooner begin 44 another, which I propose shall put me " in the full and quiet Possession of " of what I hold at present." I might fill my Paper with pertinent Quotations from this prophetic, witty Drama, which had not a little contributed to awaken our Lethargic Dutchmen from their golden Dreams of Happiness under the Conduct of a S-db-r. and his Favourites.

But as for the future Views of France, according to this Writer, on the Netheriands, who can doubt of them fince she took early Care to dismantie most of the Fortresses that fall into her Hands? or, who shall be in Condition to obstruct such ambitious Views whenever she

(a) Page 46. Second Edit. of the Congress of the Beagls, &c.

shall judge it proper to execute the big Defign? By this hasty Repriewe granted to her, by those who consulted less the public than private Security, France will have Leisure to bring Home her Treasures, extend her Trade. improve her Manufactures, rub off her Debts, and establish a Marine. And when she shall have perfected her domestic Scheme, who shall prevent her Conquest of the Netherlands? Not the present Allies whom this sudden pacific Measure has disjointed, nor any one of them fingly, or combined with other Powers. Nothing less than an Invasion of our own immediate Territories, will be able to induce this Republic to arm for half a Century to come. The King of Sardinia will find himself so surrounded by Princes of the House of Bourbon, so intangled in their Toils, that it will be abfolutely out of his Power to enter into any future Confederacy against them. And the Court of Vienna has suffered so sensibly by bending to the false Politics of your Cabinet, or indulging its Prejudices; and besides, has to much Reason to refent your late Inattention to either her Honour or Interest, that I doubt greatly if the Empress-Queen will ever again receive your Subfidy to arm even in Defence of the Austrian Netherlands.

After all, why should she? She can have no Quarrel with France but must be relative to her Poffession of those Provinces, nor with the younger branches of her House, but must relate to those small Possessions that remain to her in Italy. Small indeed will be her Portion of Italy after parting with the best of the Milanese to the House of Savoy, and Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla to that of Bourbon. The Dutchy of Guastalla is of far greater Importance than those, who dole away Countries for their own particular Safety, feem to understand. By giving it to the Infant of Spain, the Empress-Queen is quite shut out from paffing the Fo; besides, putting Guastalla, one of the strongest Fortreffes in Lombardy, in the Hands of a Neighbour, who very probably will be a declared Enemy before it be many Years, if the Wildom of the Empress does not prevent it by making the best Bargain she can with Spain, for such of her Italian Dominions as these Preliminaries

liminaries leave her, and with France for the Netherlands.

And could that heroick, abandon'd Princess, do a wiser Thing than Part, for immense Sums of Money, will Territories that will always cost her more to defend than they are worth, distant from the Center of her Power, and which must necessarily involve her in all the Wars which the different Branches of the House of Bourbon may think proper to kindle? Her Wisdom should lead her, now that her Ally has, by the Stroke of his Pen, left her but a Shadow in Italy, and that France has difmantled and impoverish'd the Netherlands, to confine herself to the Empire, where she will be the more revered for being able to contract her Power, by parting with the Territories that occasioned the Extension of her Force.

I cannot but admire at the Politics of your English Cabinet. You spent above thirty Millions, and run near as much in Debt to Support the House of Austria, and yet you leave it in much a worse Plight than you found it, and G

that too without Necessity. You forced the Queen of Hungary to cede all her Rights to the richest Province she had to an unrighteous Invader, for the Sake of paving your own Way to his Friendfhip: And fee how his P—n Majesty has rewarded your meddling Generofity? You oblig'd her likewise to yield up to the King of Sardinia, by the Treaty of Worms, the best of her Italian Dominions; and to compleat the Scene, you now compel her to part to Don Philip all that remain'd to her in Italy of any Value or Confideration.—For Shame! Let not your Nominal Whigs, for they are no other who now assume Name, rebuke the Tories with having abandon'd their Allies in 1712.

To view the late Couduct of your English Cabinet, with Regard to this Imperial Ally, in the most favour'd Light, it won't bear Examination. Was the Treaty of Worms to be annihilated as to every contracting Party to it, but the Empress-Queen? Was she, for whose Support you declared to unsheath the Sword, be the only Victim of your precipitate Politics? Why shall the Treaty of Worms be binding in Favour of the House

House of Savoy, whom you took not up Arms to preserve, and at the Expence too of that of Austria, in whose Defence you armed, and be a dead Letter with regard to the latter?

By a fecret Article in that Treaty, your Court stipulated, in the strongest Manner, to procure an Equivalent or Indemnification for Silefia, which was understood, by all the Contractors, to be Naples and Sicily. And it was in consequence of this Stipulation that Prince Lobcowitz lately attempted the Invasion of Naples. It was in confideration of this promised Equivalent, that the Empress Queen was prevailed on, by your Court, to make those large Concessions of Territory to his Sardinian Majesty, which he is to hold by these Preliminaries that are quite filent as to the Equivalent which your Cabinet had agreed to procure for the Court of Vienna. Where is the Justice of such a Procedure? Where is the Wisdom of enfeebling, on every fide, that Power for which you drain'd your Coffers; that only Power, which, if supported, might be hereafter a principal Instrument to shorten the Pace of France to universal Sway? In- G_2 deed, deed, my Friend, I blush for your Conduct in regard to a magnanimous Princess, who might have made good Bargains for her Family, if she could have gain'd upon herself to consider the Interest of your royal House, as little as your M—y have lately consider'd hers.

There remains for me but to observe on the Inability or Unwillingness of your Country (England) to measure again Swords with France. Should she foon find herself in a Condition, she will be always in humour to feize on those Conquests she now offers to yield up by these Preliminaries. And as I could not put the Matter in so just and apt a Light as I find it, page 11 and 12, in the aforesaid Drama, the Congress of the Beasts, permit. me to have recourse to that ingenious Writer's Expression on the Subject. need not tell you that he makes an As, cover'd with a Lion's Skin, personate your Country, once favour'd above all others by Providence.—France personated by the subtillest of Beasts, the Fox, speaks.

[&]quot; Fox. (addressing himself to the Leopard, or Spain) Let us ruin his Conservice federates

" federates (the Ass's) by Land, and we 16 shall have leifure enough to undo him " afterwards on that Element which is " as unsteady as himself.—The Tigres, (Queen of Hungary) and Wolf, (King " of Sardinia) were no less impolitic in hugging him (the Ass) too closely, than " he was in doling away his Substance " upon them. They should have hus-" banded his Strength, that another time " he might stand in the Gap to stay the " Progress of an Invader. But they " have given him fuch a Surfeit of War on dry Ground, and of Subfidies, that " that they may both, hereafter, go to " the D-l, before he will stir a Foot

If this be the Case with England, as I fear it is, and if there be any Resemblance in the Portrait I have here drawn of the Empress Queen, the King of Sardinia, and this State, why should we wonder that France would give up her Conquests at present, which she may soon so easily recover and secure, without any Dread of seeing a Confederacy form'd that could wrest them from her?

" to fave either."

At present, France saw her own Inability to keep those Conquests. She saw her Ruin inevitable, should she prolong the War for the Purpose. She saw all her Colonies, Eaft, Weft, and North, on the Brink of being torn from her; she saw the Industry of her People stagnated in every Branch, and her Commerce languishing, if not gasping. She perceiv'd a convulsive Tumor gathering in her Bowels; and faw a Famine unavoidable, unless the Good-nature of England did prevent the Havock it must have made in a few Weeks. She saw likewise her Armies dwindling by her vague Conquests, and was sensible of her Inability to recruit them. And the faw it would be impossible for her to support the War another Year, if her Apprehensions, but too well grounded, should prove real.

In such a perplex'd Situation, who can admire the present seeming Self-denial of France? I rather wonder she did not bend the Knee for Peace as she did to Queen Ann, which she certainly would, before next Winter, if she had not perceived the sudden Panic of our new Masters here in these Provinces, and of your Directors in your insular Empire.—

Ah!

(47)

Ah! my Friend! see how that dangerous Neighbour has play'd upon our Fears, and how she is like to thrive by our Folly.—But has she not engaged, by the 9th Article of the Preliminaries, to employ her good Offices to obtain from the King of Spain Satisfaction for a Sum of Money, which his Britannick Majesty, as Elector of Hanover, claims from his Catholick Majesty?

Yours, &c.

Postscript by the Translator.

The Set of Preliminaries mention'd in this Letter, being, with very little Variation, the same publish'd in the London Evening Post, and other News Papers, it was thought needless to swell this Work by subjoining them to it.







